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THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE KWAKIUTL

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I N the Annual Report of the United States National Museum for 1895 I have given a description of the social organization and secret societies of the Kwakiutl based on observations and inquiries made prior to 1895. Further information relating to the social organization of the Kwakiutl collected on my last visit to Vancouver island, and since that time obtained through correspondence with Mr. George Hunt clears up a number of points of this difficult problem.

One of the greatest obstacles to a clear understanding of the social organization of the Kwakiutl is the general confusion caused by the reduction in numbers of the tribe. I have tried to clear up the situation by recording the histories of a number of families in all possible detail. In the following I shall give the principal results that may be derived from my collection of data.

I will begin with the discussion of what constitutes a tribe. There is a very fundamental difficulty in the definition of the tribal unit and of its subdivisions. I do not know of a single Kwakiutl tribe that is at present an undivided unit. All those studied consist of well-recognized subdivisions.

Furthermore, a single locality is claimed as the place of origin of each division of the tribe. In the consciousness of the people these divisions are fundamental units. The development of the concept of a tribal unit is not, by any means clear, except in so far as it appears as an effect of the congregation at one place of a number of local units. Recent tradition, the historical truth of

which cannot well be doubted, shows clearly that such a congregation has occurred repeatedly. Units may also have broken up, owing to inner dissensions or to other accidents.

On the other hand, each tribe consists of units that claim as their places of origin, localities not far apart. In a few cases only, may one or the other division of the tribe claim as the place of its origin a locality removed quite a long distance from the traditional home of the other divisions. This is the case for instance with the Q'ōmk'!ōt!ēs of the Kwāg'uł. Some of the tribal names are purely geographical terms and indicate that we are dealing with communities that live in close proximity, including perhaps groups that moved to the territory in question. Other types of names, however, occur. The translations given by the natives for some of them are folk-etymologies and cannot be taken as authoritative. Thus the name Kwāg'uł is derived from a stem *kwak*^u- of unknown significance, but is considered by the natives as a derived form of *kwax*^u—which means "smoke." The name Nāk!wax'da'x^u is explained by them as derived from *neq*-, "ten," philologically an impossible etymology. In previous writings, I accepted some of these etymologies, but I am certain that they must be rejected.

There are a number of cases in which the relations between certain divisions of a tribe are explained by tradition. Thus several pairs of divisions of one sept¹ of the Kwāg'uł are considered as the descendants of two brothers, one of the elder, the other of the younger one. In another case, the divisions of the tribe are considered each as descended from one of four brothers. When I inquired later on why in one of these pairs the one division was considered of lower rank, the following information was obtained. In the generation *I* the ancestor of one division *a* of one sept *A* had a slave whom we may call *IAa1*. He married the woman slave of the ancestor of another division *b* of another sept *B* whom we may call *IBb2*. Their eldest son (Generation *II*, designated *IIBb'3*), married the daughter (*IIAc7*) of the chief (*IAc6*) of the division *c* of the sept *A*, assumed a chief's name and became the ancestor of

¹ The Kwāg'uł proper consist of four septs or subtribes, each being divided into a number of subdivisions which are the fundamental social units.

the division *b'*, of the sept *B*, or of the line *Bb'*, which is up to this time associated with *Bb*. At a former time this line was described to me as descended from the younger brother of the ancestor of *Bb*. The daughter of *IAa1* and *IBb2*, whom we may call *IIBb'5* married the fifth son (*IICd11*) of the chief (*ICd10*) of the division *d* of the sept *C*, whom we may call *IICd10*. Their daughter (*IIICd'13*) married her father's eldest brother *IICd14*, without letting him know of her descent. Therefore her descendants were not accepted by her husband's division *Cd*, but assigned to *Cd'*. The elder son (*IIICd'15*) of this couple married the daughter (*IIIBb'8*) of the couple who had established the line *Bb'*, and their children also belong to the line *Cd'*. Their descendants are the division *Cd'*, which is up to this day associated with the line *Cd*. These relations

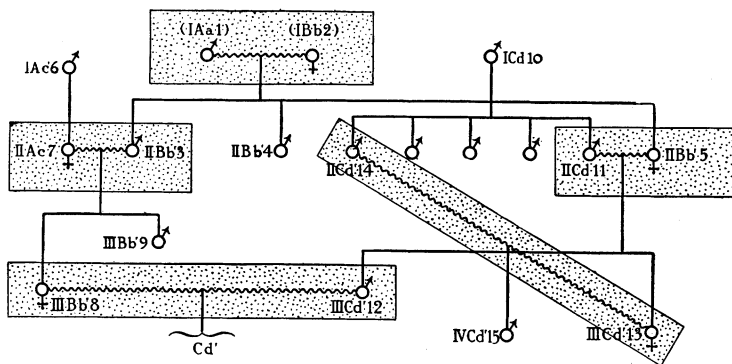


FIG. 3.—(P. 1094.) 1. L'ölotsa, slave of 'wālas Kwax'ılanōkumē; named Nenōlogēmē by Lālx's'ēndayo with whom he lived after his marriage to No. 2. 2. Tsēlē, slave of Lālx's'ēndayo; named Lālx's'aq'lanak^u by Lālx's'ēndayo. 3. L'ēspēgaak^u (name given by Lālx's'ēndayo); gives to himself the name G'ēxk'ēnis and goes to live with Dzenx'q'layo. Numaym: elgūnwē. 4. Bawēlē (name given by Lālx's'ēndayo). Numaym: elgūnwē. 5. Alāk'ilayugwa (name given by Lālx's'ēndayo). Numaym: elgūnwē. 6. Dzenx'q'layo; Hayalk'ēngēmē. 7. Ezēnx'q'layugwa. 8. Alāg'imī. Numaym: elgūnwē. 9. Ek'lawig'i'lak^u Numaym: elgūnwē. 10. Hāxūyōsemē Numaym: Haāyalik'awē; Tribe: Q'ōmoyā'yē. 11. Ts'lag'i'lak^u Numaym: Haāyalik'awē; Tribe: Q'ōmoyā'yē. 12. Mā'nakūla Numaym: Lāxsā. 13. Alē'stalidzemga Numaym: Lāxsā. 14. 'māxūyalisēmē Numaym: Haāyalik'awē; Tribe: Q'ōmoyā'yē. 15. 'māxūyalisēmē Numaym: Lāxsā.

are illustrated by the following diagram (fig. 3). This is an example of the intricate mythological interrelations between the divisions that belong to a single tribe.

On the other hand it is claimed that two divisions of one sept of the Kwāg'uł which are assumed to be descended from two brothers and whose names are found among many tribal groups, were scattered among the different tribes. Since their names are honorific names (G'ig'ilgām, *i.e.*, the first ones and G'ēxsēm, *i. e.*, chief's group), it may be doubted whether any historic meaning attaches to this tradition. This is more plausible for the division Kū-kwāk!ūm which is found among two septs of the Kwāg'uł, which, according to tradition, are assumed to be derived from the same place of origin. In some cases we find in a tribe a subdivision which has for its name the stem of the tribal name with the ending *-em*, as in the division just mentioned, the SēnL!ēm and lēq!ēm and outside of the Kwāg'uł proper, the Mamalēleq!ām. The meaning of this ending is "the real ones." According to the statement of the Indians there was, in former times, in almost each division a noble family that bore a name of this type, while the rest of the people were designated by the ordinary name of the division. Mythologically this is explained as meaning that the select group, called "the real" members of the division, were descended from the ancestor, while the other families at an early time became associated with the ancestor without being descended from him.

We may therefore say that in the concept of the Indians, the tribe consists of a number of divisions, each of which is derived from one ancestor, but which includes also individuals of different descent who at an early time joined the ancestor. In a number of cases, the ancestors of the various divisions are brothers and the divisions represent elder and younger lines. In other cases there is no such relation, the lines representing disconnected local groups.

Although in the present period the concept of the tribe is very clear in the minds of the Indians, there seems to be little doubt that the tribes have undergone many changes in number and composition. There are some indications of this process even at the present time. Thus one sept of Kwāg'uł proper (the Q!ōmk'!ōt!ēs) are generally grouped with the 'wālas Kwāg'uł, and the tendency is such that within a short time the consciousness of their separate existence

might well disappear. The union of L!aL!asiqwāla and of NaqEm-g'ilisāla in one village has not yet led to their fusion, but externally at least they form a single tribe. The stability of tribes is primarily due to the fact that the tribal units have fairly definite functions distinct from the functions of the tribal divisions. These appear particularly in formal gatherings in which the tribes are arranged in rank and in which, furthermore, definite tribes are matched. Thus in northern Vancouver island, we find the following parallel arrangement of Kwāg'uł tribes and of the tribes further to the east.

Gwētēla matched with Mamalēleqala

Q!ōmoyâ'yē matched with Qwēq"sot!ēnox"

'walas Kwāg'uł matched with Nimkish

Q!ōmk'!ōtēs matched with Lāwits!ēs

Notwithstanding the relative stability of the tribes, the tribal divisions must be considered as the fundamental units. In previous writings I have used the terms "gens" and "clan" according to the varying impression of prevalence of maternal and paternal descent, both of which are important. After much hesitation I have decided to use the native term *numaym* ('nē'mē'm) because the characteristics of the unit are so peculiar that the terms "gens" or "clan" or even "sib"¹ would be misleading. We have to recognize first of all that positions in a *numaym*, or at least the ranking positions must be filled and that their disappearance, according to the ideas of the Indians, would be a misfortune. A position is defined by the name attaching to it and by a number of privileges (k'!ēs'ō). I prefer the term "privilege" to the term "crest," because the privileges are quite varied in character, although not so much varied in form as among the Nootka.

A clear understanding of the constitution of the *numaym* is made very difficult by the fact that the number of positions is at present greater than the number of members of the tribe, so that many individuals hold more than one position in more than one *numaym*. It may be that even in early times, important personages had the right to do so, but the present extension of this

¹ See Robert H. Lowie, "The Matrilineal Complex," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. VI, vol. II, p. 30.

right is, no doubt, due to the reduction in the number of members of the tribe. As a matter of fact, the Indians themselves are not by any means clear as to the rights of each individual, and quarrels regarding rank and position are of common occurrence. In these each party tries to defend its rights by facts based on descent. The fundamental principle seems to be that primogeniture, regardless of sex, entitles the first-born child to the highest rank held by one of its parents. Rank is, on the whole, determined by the order of birth, and the noblest line is the line of the first-born. The lowest in rank that of the youngest born. Hence when a father and mother are of equally high rank, the first-born child may be assigned to one *numaym*, the following to another *numaym*. In cases of equal rank of both parents the father's *numaym* has preference and to it the first-born child is assigned. I have never been able to learn definitely whether a child that is assigned to another *numaym*,—not his mother's—retains, nevertheless, the right to membership in his father's *numaym* or not. In some cases it seems that way, in others it seems that a person either has no position in the father's *numaym*, or that he definitely severs his relations with it and gives up his place in it. The Indians emphasize again and again the rule that the "house name" and the attached position and privileges can never go out of the line of primogeniture and may not be given away in marriage. The first-born child must take them no matter whether it is male or female. It is not clear, however, even from the genealogies at my disposal, what was done in former times if the parents did not hold enough seats and names to go around among their children, unless in these cases the children received names from the mother's father. At present and for about seventy years past, this condition has probably never arisen. The inference from the general point of view of the modern Indian is that the younger lines had names of inferior rank and formed the lower classes.

It seems to me that the conditions among the Kwāg'uł and the Nootka must have been quite similar in so far as a sharp line between nobility and common people did not exist, that rank was rather determined by the seniority of the lines of descent. In one

Kwāg'uł tale, it is even stated that the youngest of five brothers "was not taken care of by his father and was like a slave or a dog."¹

In case of the death of the eldest child, the younger brothers and sisters rank in order of their birth regardless of sex. Where there are no children, the younger brothers and sisters of the deceased in order of birth would be the successors to his position. When there are no brothers or sisters, a father's (or mother's as the case may be) brother and sister and their descendants would be the successors.

Among some of the noble families, we find a strong desire to retain the privileges in the narrowest limits of the family. This is done by means of endogamous marriages. Marriages are permitted between half-brother and half-sister, *i.e.*, between children of one father, but of two mothers, not *vice versa*; or, marriages between

a man and his younger brother's daughter, but not with his elder brother's daughter, who is, of course, of higher rank, being in the line of primo-geniture or at least nearer to it. An excellent example is the genealogy represented in fig. 4. We have here first a marriage between a man 1 and his younger brother's daughter 3. Then a marriage between half-brother and sister 6 and 7 and finally between the son 11 and daughter 12 of two full sisters 6 and 8. It is expressly stated that these marriages were intended to prevent the privileges from going out of the family. In other genealogies I have found practically no cases of endogamy. On the contrary, we find, so far as I can see, only exogamous marriages.

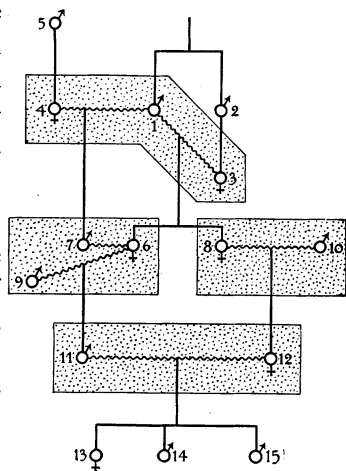


FIG. 4.—(P. 781.) 1. Lālelila, Numaym: Dzēdzemēleqāla, Tribe: Nāklwax'da'x^u. 2. Yaxlen. 3. Hāmēlas. 4. Xwēlagēlas. 5. Hayalk'En, Numaym: Sēsēnlē^ē, Tribe: Gwa'sēla. 6. L!āqwag'ilayugwa. 7. Sēwid. 8. L!ālağa. 9. Hēlāmas, Numaym: G'ēxsem, Tribe: Nāklwax'da'x^u. 10. G'ēxk'endzē, Numaym: Sēsēnlē^ē, Tribe: Nāklwax'da'x^u. 11. Hēlāmas, Numaym: G'ēxsem, Tribe: Nāklwax'da'x^u. 12. Hāyōsdēsēlas. 13, 14 died as children. 15. K'ēnē.

¹ Franz Boas, "Ethnology of the Kwakiutl," *Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*.

We may say that the *numayms* are based on descent with a preference for the paternal line; the highest positions in the *numaym* which form the nobility are the senior lines, at the head of which stands the first-born line. There are, therefore, a series of noble names in each *numaym* that may be considered as similar to offices which must be filled. The occupants of these positions must have the hereditary right to occupy their places, but their positions are actually determined by assignment, each occupant of a position having the right to determine his successor providing the laws of descent give him a title to the position.

The peculiar transfer of name, position and privileges from the woman's father to his son-in-law has been described by me before. The complex rules of this transfer have given rise to much discussion. Ordinarily name and position are given by a man to his son-in-law's children. This does not entail any difficulties when the woman is a first-born child and nobler than her husband, or when younger children are concerned. When the husband is the nobler, it would however, contradict the rules of primo-geniture previously described.

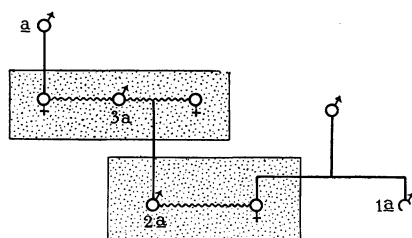


FIG. 5.—(P. 10.)

I have said in earlier publications that the son-in-law holds the name and privileges which he receives from his father-in-law on behalf of his son who becomes the real owner when he grows up. I believe this does not quite correspond to the actual conditions. In return for the marriage pres-

ents given by the young man, the father-in-law promises to give names, positions and privileges to any member of the son-in-law's family, to the son-in-law himself, his father, brother or sister, and for his prospective children.

The transmission from individual to individual through marriage is most arbitrary. Thus we have one case in which a man (1) obtains his name and position (*a*) from his sister's husband (2), who had obtained it from his own father (3), who in his turn ob-

tained it through a former marriage—not with the mother of the individual (2)—from his former wife's father. Diagrammatically this may be expressed as follows (fig. 5). In another case the father of a man was given a name and position by his daughter-in-law's father. In these cases the person who paid the marriage price to the bride's father receives the gifts returned by the father-in-law.

These names and positions, of course, cannot be actually taken until the son-in-law gives a feast at which the gifts are formally bestowed and at which the presents received from the father-in-law are distributed among the *numayms* of the son-in-law's tribe, excluding his own *numaym*. Practically the son-in-law is the recipient of these names, but they are given to him to be bestowed upon certain designated persons. In most cases the son-in-law who already holds a noble position, uses the new name and position that he himself received from his father-in-law only at the festival at which he distributes the marriage presents which he has received from his father-in-law, and then he "puts away" the name until he in turn gives it to his son-in-law or to some member of his son-in-law's family. There are, however, cases in which this is not done. Thus a noble chief of the Kwāg'uł gave up his position and took the place of his father-in-law who was a Mamalēleqala. The Kwāg'uł were dissatisfied with this arrangement and in order to adjust matters, he sent his second and third children to take his places in the *numaym* to which he belonged, while he himself, his wife; eldest and youngest sons took their places among the Mamalēleqala. Such a transfer of a son-in-law to his wife's *numaym* and tribe does not seem to be frequent, although it is permitted.

The actual position of the first born child is, therefore, that by birth it belongs to a certain *numaym* and that under normal conditions it will remain there and receive additional names and positions from its father-in-law. These, however, will be given up when his daughter marries and ordinarily descend to her son, although this is not absolutely necessary. Later born children are liable to attain high rank through marriage and will be more readily transferred through marriage to a new *numaym*. That the son-in-law

has the free disposal of names given to him personally is brought out clearly by the fact that he can transmit them even after a divorce and a new marriage to the descendants of relatives of his new wife, or that he may bestow names received from his second wife to descendants or relatives of his former wife. It is also interesting to note that in some cases names and privileges received in marriage are split and become the property of different individuals.

The most common arrangement is that a man places his daughter's husband in one of the positions at his disposal, either his own or one belonging to him in some other way. The positions acquired by marriage are retransmitted in the same way, so that the holders will always be the husbands of a succession of daughters. The names and privileges are held by the men, although they descend throughout through the line of daughters. In the genealogies at my disposal I have not found cases of such continued transmission, neither do I find a continued transmission from maternal grandfather to grandson. There is rather a tendency for the lines transmitted through marriage to disappear. It is not safe, however, to infer from this that continued transmission through marriage does not occur, because the genealogies are naturally so arranged that the privileges of a certain noble person now living are accounted for. Owing to the fact that all the younger lines, in which privileges and position obtained by marriage are transmitted, have not been recorded and that the positions accounted for are generally in the line of primo-geniture, the disappearance of privileges obtained by marriage may be rather apparent than real. Transmission through the mother, *i.e.*, from the maternal grandfather to the grandson is found very frequently in the genealogies at my disposal, but it is not as frequent as direct transmission from father to son. In one genealogy, transmission from maternal grandfather to child appears fourteen times, from father to child, twenty-nine times.

Evidently the individual wish of a dying person regarding the disposition of his name, position, and privileges is one of the decisive elements in the assignment of social position. As long as any right can be construed that justifies the desired transfer, the *numaym*

will abide by the wish of the deceased. If, however, selection can in no way be justified by the laws of descent, the *numaym* may not permit the proposed transfer.

In those cases in which the disgrace of illegitimate descent, *i.e.*, descent from a couple who did not go through all the formalities of a marriage, attaches to the proposed successor, he may not be admitted to the positions bequeathed to him. The effect of such a disgrace is illustrated by the following example. A man, who belonged to the *numaym* mentioned before, which is considered as descended from slaves who were not married according to the customary form, was considered as of lower rank because he belonged to this *numaym*. Furthermore, his parents were not properly married and he himself lived with a woman of high rank without performing the proper marriage ceremonies. He became very wealthy and inherited a number of high positions. The *numayms*, however, will not allow his children to take his place. His name is to die and the children will be assigned to positions in the mother's *numaym*. Although they will assume high positions, their descent will always be felt as a blemish. I presume in early times, when other individuals of pure descent were available, they would not have been permitted to occupy these positions.

The wish of the dying person may also be vetoed by a member of his family who has a nearer right to succession than the designated successor.

According to the ideas of the Indians, the two categories of names and privileges, those in the line of primo geniture and those that may be transferred by marriage, are quite distinct. Nevertheless, the law of preventing the transfer of the inalienable family names and privileges to another family is broken every now and then, in accordance with the wish of the holder of the place expressed on his death-bed. I do not doubt that in early times, when the claims of the individual could be maintained by force, a usurped position could be held, provided the holder had sufficient strength to withstand his rivals and enemies. The law may also be broken when a tribe or *numaym* demands that one of the descendants of a chief be made his successor.

The names and privileges belonging to the line of primogeniture and those that may be transferred by marriage are of the same character, excepting only a number of offices like that of the Keeper of the Order of Seats in a *numaym*. There is no reason that would compel us to assume that the two sets have distinct origins. It may rather be assumed that certain privileges and names that have been transmitted in a family for a long time, were considered as the inalienable property of the family. There is an unsurmountable contradiction involved because the Indian theory requires that from the very beginning there must have been these two classes of privileges, a condition that does not seem tenable. If, however, we project modern conditions into the past and assume as an early custom, the arbitrary assignment of a child to one place or another according to the wish of the parents, and according to the right which the child holds by reason of his descent, then the present order is quite intelligible. We must assume that certain privileges were given away, while others which were considered more valuable were retained in the line of direct descent. In this manner, a division between the two groups of names and privileges may have developed. We may perhaps compare the conditions to the European Majorate and to the transmission of family heirlooms as against free disposal of other property. The law is not so rigid that we could speak of an entailment of certain names and privileges because it is sometimes broken. The transfer by marriage may be compared to those cases in which jewelry is handed down in a family to be worn by the eldest son's wife.

I do not see any reason for a change of my opinion in regard to the relative antiquity of the transfer of names and privileges through the male or the female line. It is, of course, impossible to obtain historical data that would prove the actual development and we can only discuss the probable course of events. I base my argument largely upon the general cultural assimilation between the Bellacoola and the Kwakiutl tribes and the Nootka on the one hand, and their northern neighbors on the other hand. Linguistically, the Bellacoola are closely associated with the Coast Salish. Vocabulary and structure prove that at one time the two groups

must have been one and must have lived on the seacoast. All the Coast Salish tribes, with the exception of the Bellacoola, are organized in simple village communities with preponderent patrilineal descent. Village communities may still be recognized as the fundamental divisions of the Bellacoola, but the organization is overlaid by the use of crests and privileges which are characteristic of the Tsimshian and of the northern Kwakiutl. The forms and names of privileges and the names of individuals using the privileges prove the most intimate association with the neighboring tribes. Similar conditions, only less developed, may be traced among the northern Coast Salish, who have adopted privileges for a few social units while other social units have no such privileges. On Fraser river these ideas have even penetrated to the Lower Thompson tribes and northward to the Lillooet. The Kwakiutl are so thoroughly saturated with the use of privileges that no essential differences can be discovered in the various groups. Unfortunately, we do not know enough about the northern Kwakiutl tribes to state definitely the conditions prevailing among them. The observations among the southern tribes, however, make it clear that among the southern Kwakiutl, as well as among the Nootka and the Coast Salish, the village community is conceived as a closed group and forms the basis of modern social organization. The exogamous lines, which are superimposed upon the village communities and embrace all of them, and which are an essential feature of the social system of the northern tribes, do not occur. The fragmentary archaeological evidence which we possess from the Kwakiutl territory suggests that the whole elaborate artistic development of the crest is not very old. Even the remains from graves that belong approximately to the middle of the last century indicate that the complete crowding out of geometrical ornament by conventional animal representations occurred quite recently.

It appears to me largely as a psychological question how the highly specialized use of privileges may have been superimposed upon an older simple organization which has a rather wide distribution on the coast. There is nothing to indicate that the simpler form should have been developed from a totemic organization.

The evidence appears to me rather the other way. If Dr. Farrand's and my own observations are correct, namely, that the prevailing line of descent among the northern Kwakiutl tribes is matrilineal, then it seems to me plausible to assume that in marriages between men of those tribes and Tsimshian or Haida women, privileges were imported which the foreign born women could transmit according to the customs of their own tribes only to their own children and through their daughters to their grandchildren, but not to the children of their sons. The conditions of life on the coast indicate that the possession of such privileges was felt as a great social advantage to which the owners would cling. Since the Kwakiutl do not permit transfer from a man to his sister's sons, it would seem natural that the characteristic method found in mythological tales of the acquisition of Tsimshian privileges and which is even nowadays practised in the potlatch, should be adopted. This method is the transfer of privileges by gift from the husband's family to the wife's family. When a northern woman marries a Kwakiutl man, her son would be entitled to her crests. Since according to the property rights of the Kwakiutl, he could not transmit them to his sister's children, the possibility presented itself, to transmit them as a present to the family of his daughter's husband and to secure in this way the transmission to her children. As stated before, the mythological data indicate that this custom must have prevailed among the northern tribes.¹ Perhaps I have myself unwittingly contributed to the disagreement of opinion in regard to the historical development of the social organization of this area. When I stated that in my opinion maternal descent was later than paternal, I did not point out specifically the difference between the type of maternal descent as usually conceived and that prevailing on the Northwest coast, because it seemed to me obvious that we have no trace of the characteristic succession from uncle to sister's son, but only a somewhat cumbersome transmission of privileges from daughter to daughter in which the husband is the bearer of name and privileges.

¹Leonhard Adam has called attention to the discrepancy between tradition and modern customs to which I referred above. *Ztschr. f. vergl. Rechtswissenschaft*, vol. xxx (1913): p. 193; also Boas, "Tsimshian Mythology," *Thirty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 528.

The fundamental difference between the organization of the Kwakiutl and the northern tribes appears also in the terminology of relationship. Their terms are throughout the same for the paternal and maternal lines; uncle and aunt, nephew and niece are terms used indiscriminately for father's and mother's brothers and sisters and for brother's and sister's children without regard to the sex of the speaker. There is no trace of the recognition of clan or gentile relationship. The terms correspond to a loose organization in which relationship is counted equally on both sides.¹ The terminology by which individuals are called members of tribes indicates decidedly a preference to the father's side. The child of a father belonging to one tribe and of a mother belonging to another tribe is designated by the name of the father's tribe or *numaym* with the ending *-ts!edze*, i.e., offspring of such and such a tribe or *numaym*. The mother's tribe is indicated by her tribal name and the ending *-k'!otem*, i.e., one side of face such and such a tribe. Furthermore, in a marriage between two members of different tribes, the wife is called "married far outside." This agrees with the custom that in by far the majority of cases the woman goes to live with her husband, as well when both belong to the same village as when they belong to different villages.

It appears from all that has been said that the privileges are individual property, not property of the whole *numaym*, so that the social divisions are not in any sense properly speaking totemic groups. The relation to a very generalized form of the clan crest which belongs to every member of the clan, which is characteristic of the northern tribes is absent here. Common to the northern tribes and to the Kwakiutl is only the personal privilege of persons of high rank to certain specific crests and privileges. Among the Kwakiutl a new-born child has no crest and no definite position until it is given to him by his parent or another relative and there is no association between all the members of the *numaym* and the "totem." It is true that the nobility believe that they are des-

¹ Franz Boas, "Tsimshian Mythology," *Thirty-first Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 494. The term 'nemwōt which is given at that place as relating only to members of the family, is used very often as applying not only to the *numaym* but also to outsiders, friends.

cended from an ancestor who had the form of an animal, a whale, killer-whale, or supernatural bird, "who took off his mask and became secular." As stated repeatedly, this does not refer to persons of low rank and not even to all *numayms*. Individually the belief may arise that a person is helped by his crest animal. Thus a Nāk'wax'da'x^u chief of the *numaym* 'wālās sacrificed to the killer-whales and was believed to be helped by them, but this was felt by the Indians as something quite unusual. In regard to other animals the evidence is contradictory. I have been told that a *numaym* which has the bear for a crest will be helped by the bear, but others flatly contradict such an idea. The statement that the Thunderbird the ancestor of the G'ig'ilgām of the Nimkish, thunders whenever one of the *numaym* (probably one of the chiefs) dies may also be mentioned here.¹

The essential feature of the relationship of the whole *numaym* to an animal is either entirely missing, or at least very weakly developed.

There is nothing to indicate that these forms are broken down remains of an older true totemic organization. The close relationship between Kwakiutl organization and that of the Coast Salish and the ideas clustering around the crests make it much more plausible that these semi-totemic notions may spring up every now and then without ever having been characteristic of the organization as a whole. I feel quite certain that the case of the relation of an individual to the killer-whale to which I referred just now, was developed by that particular person on the basis of the general beliefs of the tribe. Neither do I consider it a proof of older totemic ideas if a chief in a formal speech identifies himself with his animal ancestor who became "secular." This must be taken as no more than a metaphorical expression similar to those in which he calls himself the "Pillar of Heaven" or "Rockslide" or "River of Wealth." We must not interpret an oratorical metaphor as having a deeper religious significance, although it may stimulate thought in directions that may lead to religious tenets.

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¹ Franz Boas, "Kwakiutl Tales," *Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology*, vol. II, p. 85.